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## **CLASSICAL WEEKLY**

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#### REVIEWS

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ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES
DISSERTATIONS



• For January Publication

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#### REVIEWS

Aeschylus, the Creator of Tragedy. By GILBERT MURRAY. xii, 242 pages. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1940 7s. 6d.

In his long and productive career Gilbert Murray has rendered Aeschylus extensive service. He has translated all his tragedies, and has given us a competent edition of the Greek text. Now he has written a book about Aeschylus, a stimulating and valuable book which should rank as one of the best appreciations of a Greek dramatist. The book has many defects and many virtues. The fact that the former are small and the latter large prescribes the proper critical approach. It would be easy to list minor errors and questionable statements; it would also be futile and beside the point. The book must be appraised in its own generous spirit, and the harder and happier duty of the reviewer is to set forth its undeniable larger values.

When Murray calls Aeschylus "the Creator of Tragedy" he has in mind the origins of the particular aesthetic signification which the word "tragic" has borne since the fifth century B.C. Before Aeschylus there were τραγωδίαι, but they dealt with "little myths in ridiculous language," and were not yet tragedies. The unique achievement of Aeschylus was to transfigure τραγωδία so thoroughly that it could never thereafter permanently regain its pristine mediocrity. Murray regards this achievement as having three principal manifestations: (1) Aeschylus, after exhausting, and at times straining to the breaking point, the resources of Greek stagecraft, realized that such efforts were misguided, and ultimately developed "a great simplicity and severity of technique which owed much to the poet and little to the stage-carpenter." (2) He endowed τραγωδία with σεμνότης. From the "little myths" he selected those which his deep religious insight would endow with cosmic and eternal significance. Rejecting the "ridiculous language" he composed his plays in stately and splendid poetry (πρώτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων

πυργώσαs ἡήματα σεμνά). (3) He was preëminently a "poet of ideas," and his religious concepts, which colour almost every line of his plays, have bequeathed to the drama of two and one half subsequent millennia the never quite despicable requirement that a good play must be not only theatrically effective or verbally brilliant, but also meaningful and thought-provoking. Many persons nowadays evaluate a play by the extent to which it disturbs them. If there had been no Aeschylus this might never have been so.

These three aspects of Aeschylus' creation of tragedy are discussed in the first three chapters of Murray's book. The illustrative material is drawn mainly from the Supplices and Prometheus Bound, which Murray considers genuine and our sole surviving monument of the style called τερατώδες. The fourth chapter deals with the Persae and the Seven Against Thebes. Murray's treatment of the former play is one of the best things in his book. "Why," he asks, "is the Persae a great tragedy? It has little plot and not much study of character; it was not original—in the ordinary sense at least-but modelled on a previous play of the same title and subject by another author; and lastly, it is a celebration of a national victory, one of the very worst fields for great poetry. How can it be a great tragedy?" The answer lies in the peculiar ability of Aeschylus to deepen and make great all the issues that he touches; this is "why the Persae has overcome—or at least is not injured by-the other points which might be expected to tell against it."

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The fifth chapter discusses the Fragments, emphasizing the prevalence of the Dionysiac element in the lost plays. It also contains an excellent discussion of the Satyr-play. The Oresteia is brilliantly handled in Chapter Six, and if the treatment seems ultimately inadequate to its subject we must remember that this is the inevitable fate of any treatment of such a subject.

The seventh chapter contains a "Scenario of the Agamemnon." It presents, one may say, the play with-

out the lines, and gives, along with the story, a detailed picture of what happens on the stage, a full analysis of motivations, and a running commentary on the deeper significance of each scene, speech and choral ode. It brings the Agamemnon to life more effectively than anything else that has been written on the subject.

Possibly many will read Murray's book on Aeschylus in lieu of reading Aeschylus, and will accept as authoritative what is intended to be interpretative. This is regrettable, but one may derive some consolation from the reflexion that such persons would probably not read Aeschylus anyway, and if they must use a second-hand source they could choose many worse than Murray.

For those who have read and remember the tragedies of Aeschylus the reading of Murray's book will be a pleasant and profitable experience. Murray has always written well, and in his Aeschylus, I think, he writes better than ever. The style is always lively and clear, often witty, and sometimes brilliant. The book springs from a love of Aeschylus that goes back nearly sixty years. Its author brings to Greek tragedy the sensibilities of a romantic poet, along with a vast background of reading in many literatures. One must suppose a remarkable amount of dullness in the reader to whom such a book by such a man would not bring new insights and pleasant irritations.

EUGENE O'NEILL, JR.

YALE UNIVERSITY

La crisi del principato nell'anno 69 d. C. By PAOLO ZANCAN. XII, 134 pages. CEDAM, Padua 1939 R. Università di Padova. Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Vol. XVI) 18 L.

This work is not concerned directly either with the description or with the interpretation of the important episode of history which it bears as a title. The work is rather a series of analyses of the several accounts of this episode which have come down to us in ancient narrative histories. Nor is the aim of the work either to determine the factors involved in the civil wars of the year 69, or even to determine the credibility of the accounts of it left us by ancient historians. The aim is rather to describe in detail the point of view adopted by Tacitus, by Plutarch, by Suetonius, by Cassius Dio, and by Orosius in composing the accounts. As the author indicates frankly in her preface, this aim transports us from the period of transition between the Claudians and the Flavians to the intellectual atmosphere of the age of the Antonines, of the Severi, and of the Christian Empire. In short, the crisis of the year 69 is not the subject of this book; the surviving ancient accounts of the crisis of the year 69 are subjects of the book; and we are therefore presented not with a contribution to history, but with contributions to the history of history.

By far the most extensive account of the events of the 69 is, of course, that of Tacitus. And the author has given a very penetrating analysis of this account (3-85), as she has done also for each of the others (89-120). Yet it has seemed to the reviewer that more space than was proper has been allotted to the analysis of Tacitus' account. Too much space has been given over to mere paraphrase of the original, as though it were a coördinate aim of the book to present to Italian readers Tacitus in all his untranslatable play of thought and word. The notorious inadequacy of modern translations of Tacitus certainly leads one to sympathize with the author's attempt to remedy the matter by paraphrase, yet so extensive and detailed a rendering is no proper part of the general aim of the present book.

The great merit of this work is intimately involved in its plan, and indeed is the direct consequence of the adequate execution of the plan: Every statement of fact and every judgment of cause and effect set forth by ancient historians on the events of the year 69 is brought into focus in its true context. And one may be inclined to think with the author, as she makes apparent in describing modern interpretations of the crisis of the year 69 (126-32), that certain modern historians have neglected to consider carefully the contexts of such statements of ancient writers as they use in evidence. Yet one need not believe either that modern historians are very prone to ignore the full bearing of evidence, or that they will necessarily prove so impotent in future to devise yet other means of attacking the problems raised by the events of the year 69, not dreamed of by the present author (contra preface, ix-x).

WALTER F. SNYDER

HUNTER COLLEGE

Greek Popular Religion. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. xviii, 166 pages, 40 illustrations. Columbia University Press, New York (Lectures on the History of Religions, New Series, No. 1) \$2.50

The usual approach to Greek religion has been by following either the anthropological method of finding primitive survivals and so regarding it as the outgrowth of primitive religion, as Sir James Frazer, Jane Harrison and others have done, or the philological method of discovering religious ideas in the works of the classical writers and thinkers of Greece, as James Adam, Wilamowitz and others have done. The former method has represented Greek religion as essentially primitive but has overlooked the fact that primitive elements were continually metamorphosed or overlaid by higher

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ones through the pervasive influence of urban Greek culture and so were merely survivals, while the latter has neglected almost entirely the popular aspects of religion as being on a lower and less important level than that reflected in literature, so that an inadequate picture of what Greek religion really was has resulted.

It has been Dr. Nilsson's aim to expound this popular religion so generally regarded as folklore on the basis of knowledge gleaned from the cults, classical authors and archaeological discoveries; and to show that even the major gods had their origin here though we know them better as magnified by literature and art, and that the primitive elements are in no wise identical with the religion of the masses.

Furthermore, starting with the pastoral and agricultural life of the more backward countryside he has shown that the beliefs and customs of the people, while not the highest, have been the most persistent elements. While Christianity easily vanquished the great gods, the lesser daimones and heroes, ideas of the hereafter, etc., while not recognized by the Church, since they were regarded as superstition, have survived till our time as a sort of cryptic background to Christian beliefs. He points out the little-appreciated fact that the distinction between religion and folklore did not exist in Greece before the advent of Christianity, but that rustic beliefs and practices were always integral parts of Greek religion. Moreover, two great forms of poetry, dramatic and bucolic, stemmed from such rural elements.

The scope of the work is shown by such chapter headings as The Countryside, Rural Customs and Festivals, House and Family, Seers and Oracles, etc. Here we can only touch upon a few of the many outstanding features of the book. In discussing the house cult of Zeus, the Dioscuri and the Agathos Daimon or snake guardian, the author explains (71-2) the curious fact that the sky-god as house protector appears as a snake, which has caused modern scholars wrongly to regard him also as a chthonian deity since the snake was believed to represent the souls of the dead, as it often did. Moreover, these scholars have assumed, again wrongly, that all domestic cults arose from the cult of the dead. But the Minoan snake-goddess was primarily a house deity, a snake-goddess not because she was the queen of the dead, as Sir Arthur Evans maintained, but because she was a house goddess. The guardian spirit of the house, the snake became anthropomorphized and remained as her attribute. Similarly, Athena was the house goddess of the Mycenaean king at Athens and inherited the snake from the same Minoan source, and the snake was kept as her attribute. In this way Zeus as house protector appeared as a snake, its guardian spirit.

In discussing the cult of Hestia Dr. Nilsson points

out (75-6) that the sanctity of the hearth was not conferred by any deity, but was immanent; and this leads him to remark on a fundamental difference between Greek religion and our own. While in Christianity a place is made holy by the erection of a church on it, in antiquity sanctity was inherent and a place did not become sacred because a temple was built on it, but the latter was done because the place was already sacred. Further, the Greek made no distinction between using the same holy spot for both religious and non-religious purposes, e.g. the hearth for cooking and heating, while Christianity keeps the sacred and profane ever distinct.

Apollo, as averter of evil, was connected with sacred stones which were common in Greece, e.g. the omphalos as Delphi, which originally represented neither a tomb nor the center of the world. The author reminds us that the square stones found before the gateways of Homeric Troy by Dörpfeld and Blegen were such holy stones and that the inscriptions on four Hittite altars published by Hrozný in 1936 included the name Apulunas as one of the deities which, if the interpretation be correct, proves the Oriental origin of Apollo, often asserted and as often denied, since the Oriental Apollo was protector of gateways even as Apollo was in Greece.

He refutes (111f.) the generally accepted notion that the Greeks were largely free of superstition since the great writers hardly mention it, for he finds evidence of it in Athens even in the heyday of her greatness. By the early archaic period the Greeks had borrowed Hecate, the Carian goddess of witchcraft and ghosts and her triple image thereafter was set up before every Greek house to ward off such evils. He also speaks of the denunciation of magical rites in the fifthcentury-B.C. tract on the "Holy Disease" (epilepsy) rightly attributed to Hippocrates, the ghost stories about heroes and the inscribed leaden tablets found in tombs, as proofs of the belief in the power of the dead to harm the living. He reiterates (115f.) that the idea of gloomy Hades was so deeply ingrained in the Greek mind that it has survived Christian preaching to our time, and that it was the Orphics who first regarded the soul as immortal and the body its prison, and that this changed the earlier idea of the hereafter. While Homer has Tantalus and other exemplary sinners punished in Tartarus, they originally, as enemies of the gods, were punished here and later transferred to the lower world. The changed idea led to picturing Hades as a place of torment and horrible creatures as we see it described in the Miltonic picture, in the Frogs and in the description of Polygnotus' Delphi painting, neither of which was pure mythology, but had a background of reality in the beliefs of the people. Dietrich in 1893 tried to prove that hell was a Greek creation, though Cumont as late as 1921 contended it was Oriental. Dr. Nilsson shows (119-20) that the earliest Christian de-

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scription of it, the so-called Apocalypse of St. Peter, proves the former was right since its background is Greek.

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The most interesting chapter is the one on the Religion of Eleusis (42f.), the oldest and finally the highest manifestation of popular religion. In a remarkably clear and concise exposition the author traces the changes the Eleusinian Mysteries underwent from their beginnings in an agrarian family-cult celebrated in October, which archaeology has shown was of Mycenaean origin, down to the close of antiquity. The facts of their origin have unfortunately been overshadowed by all sorts of unsupported and fantastic hypotheses of modern scholars to discover the rites of the Mysteries, of which-apart from the initial non-secret ones of the neophyte-we know precisely nothing beyond the fact that certain things, quite unknown, were said, done and shown, especially in the culminating act of the epopteia, which one Christian writer says was merely the display of a reaped ear of grain. Moreover, he finds no evidence of the teaching of immortality in the early period of the celebration, though modern research has made this view popular. He shows (60) that the hope of immortality among the Greeks was long not individual, for the latter was "only a link in the chain of generations," and only by the close of the fifth century B.C. did the interest in the agrarian foundation of the Mysteries yield to the teaching of individual immortality.

Dr. Nilsson, like others, finds the key to the Eleusinian religion and Mysteries in the story of the rape of Kore, the 'grain' maiden, by Pluto and the consequent sorrowful search for her by Demeter, the 'grain' rather than the 'earth' mother, in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter composed at the close of the seventh century B.C., but interprets its meaning differently. Kore, at Zeus' command, was allowed to spend two-thirds of the year on earth, but must remain in Hades the other four months. This myth has been rightly connected with vegetation by all scholars, though they have misinterpreted it by making Kore remain in Hades during the four months of winter and above ground with her mother the other eight—the view expressed by Kourouniotis as late as 1934. However, that explanation does not tally with climatic conditions in Attica where Eleusis lay (51-2). For here, contrary to conditions in northern lands where the soil is frozen in winter and crops thrive only in summer, the grain is sown in October, sprouts and grows through the winter-except a part of January-ripens and is reaped in May and threshed in June and stored in underground silos. It is then that Kore remains in the realm of Pluto, i.e. in the silos. Four months later these are opened and the seed is again sown, the time of her anodos or ascent and reunion with Demeter and the season for the celebration of the Mysteries. This explains why Pluto, god

of wealth (ploutos), since grain is men's wealth, became god of the lower world. The abduction myth is Minoan, as well as the name Persephone—identical with Kore—and she and Pluto became fused with the deities below. The maiden appeared at Eleusis as Demeter's daughter (Kore) and also as Pluto's wife (Persephone), two ancient deities fused into one, the pre-Greek queen of the dead and the Greek 'grain' maiden.

Dr. Nilsson has drawn a delightful picture of the popular religion of Greece, which should be known to all students of religion. He has shown that Greek religion, like all others, was dependent on human conditions, changing when they changed. The chief change he finds in Greece is that from agricultural to urban life of industry and commerce. A later change he notes with the rise of democracy, where religion again found new forms to correspond with new needs. This latter change he believes was only beginning in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and came to a final issue in late antiquity through the influence of the earlier Sophists. But all through the story of the Greeks older ways of life and thought persisted in the backward countryside.

Forty excellent explanatory illustrations, taken from various monuments, are placed at the close of the text, though nearly three-fourths are from vase paintings and votive reliefs. The book closes with an eight-page index.

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Studien zur Ars poetica des Horaz. Interpretation des auf Dichtkunst und Gedicht bezüglichen Hauptteiles (Verse 1-294). By WOLF STEIDLE. 147 pages. Triltsch, Würzburg 1939

Norden's Komposition und Literaturgattung der horazischen Epistel ad Pisones (Hermes 40 [1905] 481-528) marked an epoch in the study of the Ars Poetica in that it reduced the poem to a standardized "isagogic" work treating its subject under a simple arsartifex division according to established Greek methods. Kiessling-Heinze's Q. Horatius Flaccus: Briefe<sup>4</sup> (Weidmann, Berlin 1914), Jensen's Philodemos über die Gedichte: fünftes Buch (Weidmann, Berlin 1923), Rostagni's Arte poetica di Orazio (Torino 1930), and Immisch's Horazen's Epistel über die Dichtkunst (Dieterich, Leipzig 1932) have been among the additional outstanding contributions since Norden's to the elucidation of the famous epistle. To all these and many others Steidle pays the tribute of frequent citation in the present valuable study, a dissertation written under the direction of Stroux.

The subtitle at once limits the scope of the monograph to the lines comprised in Norden's 'de arte

poetica,' leaving the remaining verses of the poem, 295-476, 'de poeta,' untreated. After an introductory chapter of nine pages, Steidle proceeds in six further chapters to a detailed study of the lines indicated in his subtitle, grouping the verses as follows: 1-72, 73-118, 119-152, 153-219, 220-250, 251-294. It is therefore in the opening nine pages that the key to his method is set forth. Without detracting from the notable contributions of his predecessors, he yet makes it clear that to his mind philologians are in danger of going too far in attempting to interpret the poem in the light of Greek rhetorical treatises that may be regarded as sources and parallels, even though these may be of great help: "Alle griechischen Analogien haben jedoch hier nur insoweit Sinn und Zweck, als sie dem unmittelbaren Verständnis Horazens dienen" (7). He believes with Immisch that Horace is treating only some of the points included in a complete ars poetica: "sein Verfahren ist 'eklogistisch', wie Immisch es genannt hat" (5), a view confirmed by Porphyrio's 'praecepta . . . non quidem omnia, sed eminentissima." Vahlen's view "dass die AP ein Kunstwerk ist und als solches verstanden werden muss" (6) is sympathetically received by Steidle, whose principle of interpretation would seem to be summarized in the words "uns auf den gegebenen Text als erste und letzte Quelle unserer Erkenntnis zurückverweisen" (7). In short, he prefers to understand Horace in the Ars Poetica primarily by means of Horace himself, and secondarily only through a study of sources and parallels—an obviously sane procedure, and yet one which criticism has for some years been prone to forget. To further this aim, he calls into court other writings of Horace, particularly the Sermones, which are, after all, much given to questions of literary criticism.

The remaining pages of the study (10-147) are nothing more than a detailed commentary upon the opening 204 lines of the poem; one regrets that the Latin text was not included within these pages, portion by portion, as individual verses or verse-groups were taken up. A detailed study of Steidle's interpretations can obviously not be attempted; yet it may be said without hesitation that these pages contain a commendable and helpful store of erudition. As an instance of the author's association of the Ars Poetica and the Sermones, observe (10) his view that verses 1-5, 19-22, 35-38, are symptomatic of the satirical ridentem dicere verum and of other satirical usages. Much is made throughout of an Horatian adherence to the doctrine of το πρέπον or decorum as a basic principle of his literary creed (7, 19-20, 32, and passim).

Steidle has made wide use of the literature on the Ars Poetica, not excepting that appearing in English and American periodicals. A complete bibliography of these would have been a convenience to persons using

the study, as would some sort of index of matters treated. Yet as it now stands the monograph will have to be reckoned with in future interpretations of the Ars Poetica.

WILLIAM CHARLES KORFMACHER

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SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY

Stérilités mystérieuses et naissances maléfiques dans l'antiquité classique. By Marie Delcourt. 112 pages. Droz, Paris 1938 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule LXXXIII) 35 fr.

The author of this book contends that in Sophocles' Oedipus Rex it is not a disease but a sterility which has afflicted Thebes, that it is not unburied corpses but monstrous births which lie unwailed on the ground. The proof of this assumption is advanced in a detailed interpretation of the Sophoclean passages themselves (pages 16-22; 31-36) and in an investigation into the subject matter. Aoinos, the term used by Sophocles, is claimed to mean generally, at least in the language of the fifth century B.C., a mysterious scourge sent by God and visiting the whole population, its typical form being the sterility of the earth, of animals, and of women, aggravated by the birth of monsters (ch. I 9-28). The origin of such a scourge, in the beginning, was ascribed to  $\Gamma \hat{\eta}$  and only later to the Olympians (ch. IV 77-82); liberation from it was sought in purifications (ch. III 67-76), and the monstrous births were exposed alive, as is shown from a survey on the pertinent material (ch. II 29-66). The λοιμός which raged in Sicily at the time of Empedocles is dealt with in a separate chapter (ch. V 83-90). A few appendices (94-112) deal with related subjects.

The proposed interpretation, it seems to me, is substantiated neither by general considerations nor by the content of the Sophoclean verses in question. Already in Homer (Iliad I, 61) λοιμός, though it may be considered as "mal collectif d'origine mystérieuse," is doubtless not a sterility but a deadly disease of whatever character (contrary to Delcourt 22ff.). As to the later writers up to the fifth century B.C., it is not true that none of them, except perhaps Herodotus, identifies λοιμός with disease (24). To leave aside all those passages in which the term λοιμός is not defined and in which its meanings may therefore be questioned, Herodotus (8.115) to be sure equates  $\lambda o \iota \mu o \varsigma$  and disease, and so does Ps.-Hippocratic treatise Περὶ φυσών, one of the oldest of the Corpus Hippocraticum, where it is said: ἔστι δὲ δισσὰ ἔθνεα πυρετών, . . . ὁ μὲν κοινὸς ἄπασιν ὁ καλεύμενος λοιμός (Hippocratis Opera, ed. J. L. Heiberg, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, I 1 [1927] 94, 9-11); Delcourt (15, 24) claims that the word does not occur in the Hippocratic writings.

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It is then safe to state that in Sophocles' time Louis is a rational, not a religious, term and signifies a disease which is common to all; that it means anything else is not definitely said anywhere.

Now as to the Oedipus Rex, Sophocles first speaks of the sterility which has befallen the earth, cattle, and human beings (verses 25-7) and then continues:

έν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς σκήψας έλαύνει, λοιμός έχθιστος, πόλιν, ύφ' ού κενούται δώμα Καδμείον μέλας δ' "Αιδης στεναγμοίς καὶ γόοις πλουτίζεται.

It may be possible to understand έν δ' not as 'next' as it is usually understood, but to connect it with σκήψας, the word ενσκήπτει being the "technical expression" for the onslaught of a λοιμός (cf. Delcourt 17-8). Nevertheless, it would hardly follow that λοιμός is here identical with the sterility described before. How would a sterility empty the house of Kadmos and enrich the house of Hades? The poet can say so only if he is thinking of λοιμός as a disease spreading death throughout the city and afflicting all people. Apparently it is in this same sense that Aeschylus says: μήποτε λοιμὸς ἀνδρῶν (!) τάνδε πόλιν κενώσαι (Suppl. 659-60; contrary to Delcourt 13). Both Aeschylus and Sophocles agree with Herodotus and Hippocrates in the use of the word; and, in view of the definition of λοιμός as πυρετός (cf. CMG, loc. cit.), the adjective πυρφόρος (Oedipus Rex 27) is not at all a "terme banale" but is very significant.

Now what about the other Sophoclean passage: νηλέα δε γενέθλα πρὸς πέδω θαναταφόρα κείται ἀνοίκτως (verses 180-1)? This, the author says, cannot mean that the corpses of men lie unburied; the only possible interpretation is that these are monstrous births exposed while still alive (31). Why? Because otherwise this passage would testify to a neglect of the burial of the dead, which is unheard of among Greeks. But Thucydides reports (2.50.1) that during the pestilence at Athens many dead were not buried. The value of this assertion cannot be depreciated on the ground that Thucydides later on tells that the Athenians buried the corpses as best they could; these two statements are not contradictory but concern different things, and even in the second passage Thucydides stresses that all customs in regard to burial were overthrown at that time (2.52.4). Certainly Sophocles could not convey to his Athenian listeners the magnitude of the devastation wrought by the λοιμός in a more emphatic way than he did.1 It is, moreover, the horror felt about such terrible happenings that makes the statement a fitting part of the whole lamentation of the chorus;

1 So Homer (Iliad XXII 386) characterizes the hatred of Achilles by his leaving the corpse of Hector unburied and unwailed.

the exposure of the monsters required by religion would not be a fact to be lamented.2

It is then of sterility and disease that Sophocles is speaking. That the people ever considered  $\Gamma \hat{\eta}$  as the sender of sterility is a mere hypothesis, as the author admits (81); the available material refers only to the Olympians. That the Thebans in their calamity ask for divine help, for the advice of Apollo, is quite consistent with the practice of Sophocles' time and of later centuries. But one must not overlook the rational approach to healing advocated by the physicians; the reports on Empedocles and the λοιμός in Sicily will then appear less isolated than they do if contrasted only with religious teaching.3 Which side Sophocles took I cannot presume to decide, but he certainly does not believe in the divine origin of diseases as such (cf. Philoctetes 1437ff. and Antigone 363-4; contrary to Delcourt 21, 30 n.1). Generally speaking, I think that the attempt to exploit Sophocles as a witness for popular or superstitious beliefs has failed. Whether one regrets Sophocles' attitude in this respect or not, Dieterich (Mutter Erde 1905, 41) was quite right in his judgment about Sophocles' inattentiveness toward folklore.

LUDWIG EDELSTEIN

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Ovid, Selected Works. Edited by J. C. and M. J. THORNTON. xv, 432 pages. Dutton, New York 1939 (Everyman's Library, No. 955) \$0.90

After a short introduction on Ovid's life and his English translators comes a very brief bibliography. The Nux and the Consolatio ad Liviam are given among Ovid's works without question. Some older and some more recent translations are then listed. Saltonstall's Heroides first appeared in 1636, not 1639, and the version by Dryden and others in 1680, not 1683.

The selections are made from early English versions. They are about as follows: Amores, 21 out of 49 translated by Christopher Marlowe, 1598 (?); Heroides, parts of three out of 21 by George Turberville, 1567; Ars Amatoria, all by Francis Wolferston, 1661; Fasti, 12 selections, 1100 out of 5000 lines by John Gower, 1640; Metamorphoses, 25 selections, 5400 out of 12,000 lines by Arthur Golding, 1565-67-75; Tristia, seven selections, 880 out of 3530 lines by Zachary Catlin, 1639, and John Gower, 1640; Epistolae ex Ponto, four selections, 150 out of 3200 lines by Wye Saltonstall,

2 E. Riess (AJP 61 [1940] 253) is quite right in saying that even the expression νηλεά··· ἀνοίκτως would not be understandable if referring to monsters which are considered

3 Cf. the survey in F. Adams, The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta translated into English I [1844] 277ff.

1639; Ibis, 206 out of 644 lines by Thomas Under-

downe, 1569.

On the whole the selections are well chosen. As one would expect, the Metamorphoses account for threefifths of the book. One misses stories such as those of Europa, Cadmus, Actaeon, Philomela, Boreas, and the Judgment of Arms from Book XIII. Yet only the story of Myrrha and the philosophy of Pythagoras could easily be spared, and of these the Myrrha is one of the most highly finished parts of the poem and the Pythagoras essential to a rounded view of Ovid's thought. To the Amores and the Ars Amatoria is given another fifth of the book. The chief error in proportion is the scant space given to the Heroides. These letters show Ovid at his best in psychological analysis, have been enormously popular in several centuries, and have had great influence on English litera-

All the translations are in verse. All fall within the period 1565-1661. While Wolferston's Ars Amatoria has been revised and in other cases the spelling has been modernized, a certain unity of effect has been gained by taking all the versions from one century. Marlowe's Amores has something of the directness and limpidity, the morning-glow of language, characteristic of good Elizabethan work. Golding is swift and spirited,

full of lines that are patterns of what translation should be. Yet he is often full of padding, and too much of a piece to render an author as various as Ovid. One must read many translations to get the feel of the Metamorphoses. Turberville and Underdowne have fine passages. The rest have occasional fine lines.

The four-page glossary at the end contains too little for the general reader or the Latinist not well acquainted with Elizabethan poetry. The book is full of archaic words not in the glossary, of words that are British but not American, and of words used in senses borne by their Latin originals but now obsolete. Turberville's Oenone to Paris may be read with these points in mind.

One who knows Ovid and Elizabethan poetry will enjoy this book. A general reader who knows neither will have to face unfamiliar subject matter in a strange dress. The language of these translations is quaint; Ovid is modern. One who would know him more easily should read, for example, B. P. Moore's brilliant version of the Ars Amatoria (London 1935).

The book is physically well made. It does a great service in rendering widely available important older versions hitherto accessible to relatively few.

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UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

#### ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

This department is conducted by Dr. Norman T. Pratt, Jr., of Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. Correspondence concerning abstracts may be addressed to him.

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#### ANCIENT AUTHORS

Aeschylus. L. A. Post. Note on Aeschylus (PV 332-34). Reads μετασχείν ώς in 333. CPh 35 (1940) 182-3 (W. Wallace)

Augustine. SISTER MARY EMILY KEENAN. The Terminology of Witchcraft in the Works of Augustine. A brief lexicographical discussion. CPh 35 (1940) 294-7 (W. Wallace)

Caesar. CHARLES H. BEESON. The Text History of the Corpus Caesarianum. The presence of Insular symbols, together with errors caused by their expansion, in both branches of the manuscript tradition of Caesar's works suggests not only that both sides derive from a common Insular archetype, as Klotz argued, but that further Insular activity played a part in the transmission. Bobbio is suggested as the originator of the archetype; a copy went to Britain; and Insular centers in France, especially Fleury, were probably involved. CPh 35 (1940) 113-25

— John N. Hough. "Apertos Cuniculos" (Caesar Bellum Gallicum vii.22.5). The phrase has been taken to refer to open trenches inside the agger and to underground mines. Neither meaning is possible. It probably refers to rows of vineae on top of the agger. CPh 35 (1940) 190-2 (W. Wallace)

Festus. J. L. HELLER. A New Festine Gloss. The curious gloss in Philoxenos (TI 24 = CGL, 2.198.42) by which exaipeous, 'entrails', is given as an equivalent for tintinnabulum, is traced to a misunderstanding of a passage in Plautus Pseud. 331f., and seems to be due to Festus.

CPh 35 (1940) 192-4 (W. Wallace)

Horace. Roy C. FLICKINGER. Horace, Serm. 1,4,86-88. It has been pointed out previously that there must be some connection between the aqua furnished by the "host" (qui praebet) and quavis. Water - metaphorically speaking, the opportunity, the wherewithal - with which to be patter (assail) his fellows is offered a malignant guest, niger, by the very fact that a banquet is given at all and that so many, twelve instead of the more usual nine, are invited. PhW 60 (1940) 411 (Plumpe)

Sophocles. C. M. BOWRA. Sophocles on his Own Development. Sophocles distinguished three stages in his own development. In the first stage he imitated Aeschylean "bigness," in the second he developed "a painful ingenuity in his own invention" (e.g. in Ajax), and in the third he worked for dramatic propriety in the speech of his characters (e.g. in Antigone). AJPh 61 (1940) 385-401 (De Lacy)

#### HISTORY. SOCIAL STUDIES

Alföldi, A. The Reckoning by the Regnal Years and Victories of Valerian and Gallienus. Lists the inscriptional and numismatic evidence for the regnal years of Valerius and Gallienus and notes abnormal numbering of tribunician years and consulships as well as erroneous numberings. By fixing the chronology of abnormal reckonings, he derives some new information on the reigns of these emperors, especially by considering the n should uch of a ne must e Metaave fine

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numbering on the issues of the several mints. Illustrated. IRS 30 (1940) 1-10 (Reinmuth)

BIKERMAN, E. L'avenement de Ptolémée V Épiphane. B. places the ascent of Ptolemy V to the throne of Egypt in the year 205 B.C., in preference to the date 203/2 B.C. given by Polybius.

CE 15 (1940) 124-31 (Husselman) DINSMOOR, WILLIAM BELL. Ptolemais and the Archon Sortition Cycles. The operation of the twelve- and thirteen-year cycles in the selection of the tribe Ptolemais is placed in 226/5 B.C., and the end of the first thirteen-year cycle in 221.

AJPh 61 (1940) 460-8 (De Lacv) JONES, TOM B. The Death of Numerian and the Accession of Diocletian. Numerian was probably not assassinated in Thrace, and ancient statements to this effect may be explained away. (W. Wallace)

CPh 35 (1940) 302-3 TOWNSEND, PRESCOTT W. The Oil Tribute of Africa at the Time of Julius Caesar. In Bell. Afr. 97.3 Caesar is said to have imposed an annual tribute of three million pounds of olive oil on the city of Leptis, The amount is too large. Plutarch (Caes. 55.1) is probably correct in suggesting that this amount was paid by the whole district which Caesar conquered in Africa, CPh 35 (1940) 274-83 (W. Wallace)

#### LINGUISTICS. GRAMMAR. METRICS

MOORHOUSE, A. C. Observations on Chronology in Sound-Changes in the Italic Dialects. Sixteen groups of sound-changes are presented, and the author differentiates, so far as possible, between (a) Italic common change, (b) dialectal differential change, (c) dialectal common change. He concludes that several of the changes hitherto assigned to the period before the separation of the dialects should properly be considered dialectal

AJPh 61 (1940) 307-29 (De Lacy) SPITZER, LEO. Fimare in Isidore. Romance derivatives of fimare. AJPh 61 (1940) 357-8

STURTEVANT, EDGAR H. The Greek K-Perfect and Indo-European -k(o)-. Opposes the idea that the -katense sign of the Greek perfect is a purely Greek innovation. The same formative element is found in the Tocharian preterit. Both these formations contain the Indo-Hittite 1st sg. perfect ending -xa. Lang 16 (1940) 273-84 (Gummere)

#### LITERARY HISTORY. CRITICISM

Beare, W. The Delivery of Cantica on the Roman Stage. The story of Livy (7.2) that following the example of Andronicus actors at one time used their

voices only for spoken parts, and for the cantica employed vocalists while they continued their rôles with dumb show, offers no evidence for the stage practice of later times nor does it give any support for the modern view that there were three recognized types of utterance on the Roman stage, -speech, song, and recitative with musical accompaniment. CR 54 (1940) 70-2

FRIES, CARL. L'origine de la rhétorique antique. More knowledge of the place of rhetoric among oriental peoples is needed to understand its development in Greece. Phases in its later development are fully intelligible only in the light of history and social changes. RPh 14 (1940) 43-50

LAISTNER, M. L. W. Some Reflections on Latin Historical Writing in the Fifth Century. This literature, though derivative and undistinguished, is important for its influence upon early medieval scholars. Its latinity is usually good and its chronology careful. The most important books considered are Eutropius' Epitome, Sulpicius Severus' Chronica, Orosius' Historia adversus paganos, and Rufinus' Ecclesiastical History CPh 35 (1940) 241-58 (W. Wallace)

LEVI, ADOLFO. On "Twofold Statements". Many interpretations of this work are reviewed. It is concluded that the work is a conglomeration of unconnected parts, derived from Sophistic and Eleatic sources, and with very slight Socratic influence. AJPh 61 (1940) 292-306 (De Lacy)

#### PHILOSOPHY. RELIGION. SCIENCE

FREND, W. H. The Memoriae Apostolorum in Roman orth Africa. The cult of the apostles Peter and Paul North Africa. was characteristic of the churches of North Africa, the members of which later became Donatists in the wide belt of hill country east of Theveste north of the Aurès Mountains and northwards to the highland of Maure-tania Sitifensis. The other or Romanized area, on the banks of the Bagradas and Meliana rivers including Carthage and other cities held to the official Catholic conception.

(Reinmuth)

JRS 30 (1940) 32-49 MILNE, J. G. IIAPAX APAZIS. A note on the meaning of παραχαράττειν τὸ νόμισμα in the Life of Diogenes the cynic by Diogenes Laertius (6.2.20,21) found among the papers of Professor Ingram Bywater: What Diogenes did was to make and circulate base money; in the command of the oracle, however, the words probably had meant "put a new stamp on the custom or ordinary ways of life." To Bywater's note M. adds a comment of his own. CR 54 (1940) 10-2 (Jones)

#### DISSERTATIONS

Four opportune and vigorous remarks appear in a letter which just came to the CLASSICAL WEEKLY office from one of the most observant among all our contributors. Speaking of the never untimely topic of the doctoral dissertation, Professor E. Adelaide Hahn of Hunter College says, in part:

A naturally good teacher is a good teacher, and a naturally poor teacher is a poor teacher, no matter what kind of dissertation he writes. A naturally good teacher becomes a better teacher, and a naturally poor teacher does not become a poorer teacher, as a result of exercise

in scholarship. The competent production of a dissertation exhibiting precision and erudition together with conscience and assiduity is an important step in the apprenticeship of one who enters the world of scholars.

I do not deny that the writing of an unworthy thesis is of no benefit to anyone (except possibly the printer). Yet the writing of a worthy dissertation is of benefit to others as well as to the writer, for definitive and exhaustive treatment of a minute detail of research provides material from which other scholars may draw and foundations on which they may build until the final result. becomes something of real significance in the development of research and the discovery of truth.

These ringing statements of the chairman of the

energetic group of young scholars which has been called "America's largest Classics Department" are not echoed by all observers of current scholarship. Readers will recall the thoughtful tone of Professor W. A. Oldfather's criticisms, CW 32 (1939) 231-3, and the sharp remarks of Professor H. P. Houghton, CW 34 (1940) 88-9. Surely it is promising to have many points of view being applied to the common aim of improving the preparation of doctoral candidates. As it was the dissertation in classics that led the way to confidence in American university work, so will education look to this field for ideas and guidance now when all scholarship needs new assurances. The classical dissertation must continue to serve its manifold purposes as test, demonstration, exercise, advertising and contribution. Its writer must contrive to meet the sometimes disparate demands of literature and science because he has chosen to work in an arena that faces in both directions.

It happens that a view of the doctoral studies reported by the sixth volume of Wilson's lists of accepted dissertations¹ inspires a still different thought about classical works dated in 1938-39. These are not fewer in number or in proportion than a decade ago. They are, however, on a wider variety of topics and treat a wider range of literature. More institutions are producing theses, and some in rapidly growing numbers. One notes the rise of the dissertation in theological schools. A few fields are shrunken, notably pedagogy, papyrology and palaeography. No work is listed on numismatics or epigraphy and not one on Virgil or Homer.

Year after year about one dissertation in sixty passes a department of classical languages; if there is a fault involved here, it is that these are too many theses in view of the proportionate population of university departments. While your average professor is supervising one study, his cousin in classics is watching over five or six. But barely half the dissertations on classical subjects are brought out by departments of ancient languages. Making allowance for institutional differences and for cooperative devices, there must still be an amazing number of studies involving those languages, their literature, their milieu, and their methods that might, to say the least, profit by closer attention from a philologian or two.

Recently I met a young man whose dissertation title was published in CW a year or two ago because it dealt with famous ancient literature. Knowing that the study was completed at the university of one of the best teachers and scholars of the ancient work named

in the title, I made a compliment about the joy of research under so careful a director. To my astonishment, the boy barely recognized the name. He explained to me that he had not met the distinguished Professor of Greek as his dissertation was under a different department! The reading, he told me, was done only in "selected translations."

At most universities, I know, this could not happen. But in my innocence I would have said that it could

not happen where it did happen.

Perhaps it is unbecoming to preface with this touch of pessimism the list of studies on classical and related topics named in Wilson's 1939 classification. Yet the following list will generate several critical queries in the minds of all who, like Miss Hahn, Professor Oldfather and Professor Houghton, are thinking of our responsibility for making our doctoral essays in every way more effective.

The list contains all titles likely to be interesting to CW readers, not merely those submitted in departments of classics. A few names and titles are corrected, but others probably deserve to be, for the handbook is by no means faultless.

#### ANCIENT AUTHORS

**Accius.** CRONJE B. EARP. A study of the fragments of three related plays of Accius. Columbia (Reviewed in CW 33.44)

Agobardus. Allen Cabaniss. Agobard of Lyons, a ninth-century ecclesiastic and critic. Chicago

Ambrose. Thomas A. Kelly. Sancti Ambrosii Liber de consolatione Valentiniani, a text with a translation, introduction and commentary. Catholic

Apuleius. DONALD L. LAYMAN. A commentary on Book I of the Metamorphoses of Apuleius. Stanford

CHARLOTTE P. LUDLUM. Apulcius as a source for the social history of his time. Cornell

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Arbeo. Jonah W. D. Skiles. The Latinity of Arbeo's Vita Sancti Corbiniani and of the revised Vita et actus Beati Corbiniani episcopi Trigisingensis ecclesiae. Chicago

Aristotle. WILLIAM BARRETT. Aristotle's analysis of movement: its significance for its time. Columbia

EDWIN A. KATTERHENRY. A critique of Aristotle's doctrine of the mean. Cincinnati

Augustine. SISTER MARY PATRICIA GARVEY. Saint Augustine: Christian or Neo-Platonist? Marquette

Basil. SISTER MARGARET MARY Fox. The life and times of St. Basil the Great as revealed in his works. Catholic (Reviewed in CW 33.178)

Bede. David R. Druhan. The syntax of Bede's Historia ecclesiastica. Catholic

Cicero. John J. Dillon, Jr. M. Tullius Cicero, trial lawyer. Pittsburgh

Critias. DOROTHY STEPHANS. Critias: his life and literary remains. Cincinnati.

Gregory. SISTER ROSE MARIE HAUBER. The Late Latin, vocabulary of the Moralia of St. Gregory the Great, a morphological and semasiological study. Catholic (Reviewed in CW 32.171-2)

Horace. SISTER REGINALD KILEY. A comparison of

<sup>1</sup> Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities. 1938-39. Compiled for the Association of Research Libraries. Edited by Donald B. Gilchrist. xiii, 113 pages. H. W. Wilson Co., New York 1939 \$2. Mrs. Grace M. Bilhorn of the Library of the University of Rochester deserves great credit for the publication of this manual under difficult circumstances.

pagan and Christian satire. A study of Horace and Langland. Boston

Illias Latina. Welcome A. Tilroe. The Ilias Latina: a study of the Latin Iliad, including translation, commentary and concordance. Stanford

Leo. WILLIAM J. HALLIWELL. The style of Pope St. Leo the Great. Catholic

Livy. JOHN E. A. CRAKE. Archival material in Livy 218-167 B.C. Johns Hopkins

Lucan. DONALD SUTHERLAND. The Senecan temper in Lucan. Princeton

Lucian. MIRIAM FRIEDMAN. Lucian in English literature, 1683-1785. Cornell

Minucius Felix. Brother Alban Dooley. Lactantius and Minucius Felix. Fordham

New Testament. EDWARD P. BLAIR. Matthew's conception of the authority of Jesus. Yale

Greek New Testament in America: a phase of the history of American criticism and interpretation. Chicago

— Vernon G. Davison. The influence of Roman persecution on New Testament literature. Southern Baptist.

of Mark. John C. Doudna. The Greek of the Gospel

— HERBERT M. GALE. The validity of the Petrine tradition in the light of modern research. Boston
— ARTHUR S. GILLESPIE. Paul's missionary use

of local situations. Southern Baptist

HAROLD H. HUTSON. The impact of the industrial revolution upon New Testament criticism. Chicago

CLARENCE L. JORDAN. The meaning of *Thanatos* and *Nekros* in the Epistles of Paul. Southern Baptist

THOMAS J. KANG. The philosophy of the apostle Paul. New York

— George W. Redding. Kosmos in John's Gospel and epistles. Southern Baptist

— FLETCHER H. SCHARER. The confessional element in the Paulines. Boston

- CECILIA M. SHEPPARD. Atonement in the synoptic gospels. Yale

WALTER W. SIKES. The gospel of life. An inquiry into the significance of the idea of life in the fourth Gospel and the Johannine epistles. Union

--- CARI, D. SOULE. Emperor worship and its representation in the Apocalypse of John. Boston

Johannine literature. Southern Baptist

Old Testament. EUGENE S. ASHTON. An interpretation of Habakkuk, Chapter III. Union

- PHILIP BIRNBAUM. The Arabic commentary of Yeset ben 'Ali on the book of Hosea. Dropsie

— CHALMER E. FAW. Royal motifs in the Hebrew psalter. Chicago

OTIS R. FISCHER. The unity of the book of Ezekiel. Boston

JAMES L. GREEN. The problem of the unity of Micah. Southern Baptist

Amen-em-ope and the Book of Proverbs. Catholic

Arabic text of Zechariah. Princeton The "polyglot"

—— GALE RITZ. The origin of the Pre-Deuteronomic elements in the historical corpus. Chicago

WALTER E. ROUSCH. The interpretation of the psalter: a study of fresh approaches to the praises of Israel. Drew

Russell, C. Tuck. Election in the Old Testament. Boston

Ovid. HENRY M. ELLER. Studies in the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in Ovid. Chicago

Peter of Blois. JEANNETTE E. HARGRAVE. Studies on Peter of Blois. California

Petronius. GAYLIA M. GOODE. The appropriate name in Petronius. Illinois

Philodemus. Jane I. M. Tair. Philodemus and contemporary Latin poets. Bryn Mawr

Plato. ELIZABETH G. CASKEY. Democritus and Plato: a comparison of the function of the forms in their philosophies. Cincinnati

—— DAVID O. ROBBINS. Paradigmatism in the philosophy of Plato. Princeton

- Grace L. Rose. Plato's interpretation of Heraclitus in the Cratylus. Johns Hopkins

Plautus. WILLIAM M. SEAMAN. The appropriate name in Plautus. Illinois

Servius. Arthur F. Stocker. De novo codicum servianorum genere. Harvard

— EDITH O. WALLACE. The notes on philosophy in the Commentary of Servius. Columbia (Reviewed in CW 33.183-4)

Silius. Norma D. Young. Index verborum silianus. Iowa (Reviewed in CW 33.8-9)

Vida. Gertrude E. Coyne. An edition of Vida's Christiad, with introduction, translation and notes.

#### LITERARY HISTORY. DRAMATURGY

FISHER, FAY. Narrative art in medieval romances. Columbia

GLICK, MARY M. Studies in colloquial exaggeration in Roman comedy. Chicago

Greenwood, Sam L. Geographical allusion in Attic tragedy. Chicago

HICKMAN, RUBY M. Ghostly etiquette on the classical stage. Iowa (Reviewed in CW 32.136-7)

Pluggé, Domis E. History of Greek play production in American colleges and universities from 1881 to 1936. Columbia

THOMSON, SOMERVILLE. The extent and use of classical reference in the Spanish picaresque novel. Stanford

WOOD, WILLIAM R. Pagan mythology and the Christian religion in the poetry and prose of John Keats. Iowa

#### PAPYROLOGY

CASSON, LIONEL I. Nine papyrus texts in the New York University collection. New York

#### LINGUISTICS. METRICS

Dyen, Isidore. The Sanskrit indeclinables of the Hindu grammarians and lexicographers. Pennsylvania (Reviewed in CW 34.88-9)

EVERETT, PAUL E., Jr. The history of nasal consonants and of vocalic nasalization in the Romance languages. Harvard

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GILLIS, JOHN H. The coordinating particles in Saints Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine. Catholic (Reviewed in CW 32.163-4)

GLENN, JESSIE M. The neuter plural in iambic and trochaic verse. Pennsylvania (Reviewed in CW 33.127-8)

HOCKETT, CHARLES F. A descriptive grammar of the Potawatomi language. Yale

HOLLINGSWORTH, INEZ L. Problems of the later Latin hexameter from Commodianus to the Carolingians. Washington

WECHTER, PINCHOS, Ibn Barun's book of comparison between the Hebrew and the Arabic languages. Dropsie

#### SCIENCE. PHILOSOPHY

FAHS, NED C. The Image du monde by Gossouin (A.D. 1246): Latin sources on geography, meteorology and natural history (pt. II, verses 2035-4072). California

KIRK, WILLIAM C. Fire in the cosmological speculations of Heraclitus. Princeton

McCullagh, Paul F. The meaning of nomos in Greek literature and thought from Homer to Aristotle.

#### RELIGION

Grether, Gertrude E. The divinity of women in the Roman imperial families, 27 B.C.-235 A.D. Cornell

HOPPER, VINCENT F. Medieval number symbolism, its sources, meaning, and influence on thought and expression. Columbia

MASDEN, ELMER C. The place of doom and promise in the eighth-century prophets: a critical study. Southern Baptist

MILLER, ROBERT D. The origin and original nature of Apollo. Pennsylvania

MOORE, WILLIAM J. A study of the concept of the mighty word as found in ancient Hebrew literature.

NIBLEY, HUGH. The Roman games as a survival of an archaic year-cult. California

Pearson, Lionel I. C. The tradition of the Atthis. Yale

SALYER, WILLIAM C. Marica, goddess of the Auruncians. Pittsburgh

TRACHTENBERG, JOSHUA. Jewish magic and superstition. Columbia

#### HISTORY. SOCIAL STUDIES

BENEDICT, COLEMAN H. A history of Narbo. Prince-

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